

PSF

Vatican: Myron C. Taylor

1944

Jan.-
Aug.

CONTINUED

ans. drafted 7/6/44.

THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO HIS HOLINESS THE POPE

Rome, June 23. 1944.

My Dear Mr President.

The matters in this letter are pledged
by me to the Pope to be kept in strictest
confidence by the President and Secretary
Huee. —

I arrived without incident Monday
afternoon. My first audience with the
Pope occurred Wednesday morning and
extended to one and one quarter hours.
Subsequently spent an hour with the
Cardinal Secretary of State. His Holiness
expressed great joy in the freedom of Rome
the safety of its population and the preser-
vation of its religious and historical, artistic
monuments. He appreciated fully and is
gratified for the efforts of the President and
Secretary of State to save the city.

His Holiness enquired with much concern
after your health. I reassured him.

✓ He expressed great pleasure over your recent telegram upon the Allied occupation of Rome. I reciprocated regarding his response.

The problem of the Russian attitude toward the Catholic Church, lack of faith in Stalin's word and particularly the danger of Communism in Italy gives His Holiness great concern. (I have confirmed in a number of discerning quarters that Communist activities are wide-spread and form a real and growing danger - others emphasize the spread of socialism in mild and in radical form - I shall pursue inquiries in these several directions.)

His Holiness urges that for a long time the presence of Allied, particularly the American forces in reasonable number throughout the country is essential to preserve order and to discourage radical activities which might upset the existing Government. This does not

3.

mean great forces but spread about until secret subsidies and economic conditions in their main aspects become more stabilized. The mass of people will then engendered a feeling of security through their presence. This might be accomplished on a voluntary basis at the expense of the Italian nation.

I referred to the Pope's last speech regarding peace and indicated at length that destruction of the German army or its unconditional surrender remained the policy of our government; that there existed no German Government which we could recognize and surrender was a military function. These conditions would thereafter be imposed (repeatedly imposed) for its present and permanent disarmament, the punishment of the guilty, restitution of stolen property, reparation and such political and economic, and territorial conditions, as the Allies determined upon, on a basis of justice. That peace must be preserved in the words by an International organization

in which all states might join including Germany when she has demonstrated her eligibility to become a member of a peace loving and peace preserving state.

I am confident I disbelieved any hope that a negotiation leading to an armistice comes to anticipated in the first instance, that Germany comes not to be trusted as we had tried that in 1919 and had learned a tragic lesson - the present world war.

The Pope referred to the German people as distinct from the army and the present political regime. He indicated that a nation of 60 or 70 million industrious people as capable as the Germans, will develop and prosper if it observed the rules of the civilized community of nations and their international life, comes to become in time a respected member of the family of nations but it must demonstrate it abandonment of policies of external aggression and conquest. I stressed the importance of an International Organization to maintain peace with justice and in general terms sketched a brief outline of the formula, all within the limits of four

THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
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Press release. Some interests both in the case of the Pope and the Cardinal Secretary of State to observe their reaction to these suggestions and to the future of enforcement. Both accepted them with evident satisfaction. I gave no details of the formula for novel organization.

I consider the immediate reaction to these general matters to be satisfactory.

The Vatican has been told that twenty five million Catholics in the United States are in favor of a negotiated peace. My treatment of this problem was immediately to dispel it as untrue. I had never heard it before. If you recall the Pope's last speech before our entry into Rome you will note the disturbing paragraph. It was necessary to lead their minds away from the hope of a negotiated peace. I believe I succeeded. Following the precedent of Grant - Lee which you recited to me last week, I felt on solid ground in taking this

6. position. I did not quote you or Grant Lee.

The Pope raised the question of Polish territory as respects Russian aims. This territory contains many Roman Catholics. I was prepared for this question, and referred to possible compensating adjustments such as for example in due time East Prussia & Silesia. It is evidently not the land which disturbs the Vatican but that part of the population which is Catholic and in which they under Russian occupation have been persecuted and denied the free practice of their faith. This is a point on which Stalin could give help - just reassurance and take prompt action if he is sincere. This is very much doubted here so the question remains even Stalin to be trusted?

We discussed civilian relief in Italy and particularly now as Rome is admitted by all here to be in a very bad state. Ives reviews the relief situation when I have had further opportunity to enquire into it. Will see Gov. Paletti tomorrow and have already talked with General Johnson

7

Military Governor of Rome. Before
leaving New York I proposed to General
Hiedring the Judge Marchisio, Executive
Vice President of our recently organized
American Relief for Italy - and Colonel
Rounds of Giulio Hiedring's staff visit
Rome at the earliest moment to survey
the field on the ground. I urge that as
a practical step to accomplish improvement
and to end conflicting and disturbing
rumors at home and abroad.

Both the Pope and Cardinal Secretary
of State indicated a desire to resume
the discussion of all the above matters.
I suggested next week, allowing an
opportunity for them to discuss among
themselves these vital matters.

With kindest regards believe me

Sincerely

Myron Taft

J.
The President

White House
Washington.

Personal and Confidential
To be opened only by The President.

To
The President of the
United States.

White House

Washington

From
Myron Taylor
Rome.

3266
LB

Myron Taylor folder
4-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~

July 13, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR
SECRETARY HULL

To reply to.

F. D. R.

State Dept. dispatch Naples, July 10
for the President from Myron Taylor

DECLASSIFIED
By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.
By W. J. Stewart Date _____

BT Vatican

M. Taylor folder
4-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file

July 18, 1944.

The latest I have in regard
to the King of the Belgians is
this: x

"This source, which is
dependable, is an intimate con-
fidant of the Crown Princess,
who exerts an astonishing in-
fluence in higher quarters here
(meaning Rome), and is an
exceedingly clever person --
more so in fact than the Crown
Prince. She is now in Switzerland
and, for the moment, unable to
return to Italy. I am told that
her influence in the change of
the Mussolini regime and beginning
to war against the Germans was
considerable. Her brother, as
you know, the King of Belgium,
is in captivity in Germany. The
Belgian Ambassador here says
they know nothing of his where-
abouts".

(Quoted from Myron Taylor's
letter of June 28, 1944)

PSF Vatican M. Taylor 4-44
file personal in Mather HSF
BX 20
THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO HIS HOLINESS THE POPE

(Original)

July 18, 1944. fcc
JWJ

My dear Mr President

In our last talk you enquired about
the Crown Prince, now Lieutenant General,
of Italy and his family.

On Friday last I received an invitation
for tea at the home of a friend. The
Crown Prince was the only other guest -
after a cup of tea we were left alone for
an hour - The plan may have sprung from
a conversation I had with the Pope a few
days before. I had known the Crown Prince
and his aunt the Queen of Montenegro
both of whom had visited our Villa in
Florence in past years.

The conversation was quite general but led
to a plan for a further talk when Aristotle
and I are installed in the "Kemp" Villa,
which is suited to private meetings.
The Crown Prince, his son and two daughters
are in Switzerland, near Brans. His sister
the Queen of Bulgaria (Giovanni) widow of
King Boris are still in Bulgaria. He has had

No news of them for many months -
His sister Countess Colvi di Bergolo and two
children are in Geneva. Princess Mafalda
of Tuscany, and two children are in confinement
in Germany - or in prison in Verona. He
does not know where they are. Princess
Marie of Bourbon-Parme is either in France
or Germany - he does not know where.
The C.P. has greatly improved during
the past trying years and responds to
his increased responsibilities - is modest -
has an orderly comprehension of the position
of his country. I am sure you would
enjoy a visit with him. He dresses as
an ordinary civilian with no display
of military character. The King is at
one of his estates near Naples.

The C.P. feels that work lies in the
salvation of his people - many of whom
would like to volunteer for military
service with the allies. Recruiting is
permitted only in a small way.
Many Italians feel humiliated that they
are not permitted to fight for their
own liberation - especially as "Black
Africans" are at the front with Indians

American, Japanese, Germans, and others - General Clark told me they had not much stamina as fighters.

I spent one day last week with General Clark at Headquarters - visiting three hospitals of which the one that affected me most, quite a large one, where men who have collapsed under fire are cared for. The treatment is to put them under complete narcotics for 2 to 3 days - after a week 80% are cured and return to the front - They never know what happened to them and there is seldom a recurrence - Near Port-Luis, was a large evacuation hospital about 1000 beds, 40 surgeons, and internes all of whom operate in emergencies. This unit has handled 50,000 cases since it came overseas, has been bombed and strafed - only one case has lost both eyes. I visited the Port, taken from the enemy 8 days before. No skilled are our Army Engineers, that on the 8th day, they had improvised shipping, and unloading facilities that 700 tons of munitions and supplies were taken.

ashore and delivered to the dumps
preparatory to the attack on Leghorn
(which as I write is in 5th Army hands
today) The fleet works at Piombino
was completely blasted by our bombers
and artillery though the village at our
side was hardly damaged. I have
seen many skillful engineering operations
in the past but Piombino compares with
the best - especially as no blue prints or
such an operation is possible in advance
and all is improvised on the spot. Forward
planning however makes available the
heavy equipment at the right moment
without which nothing substantial could
be done.

I have met Prince Doria on several
occasions - (He is now Mayor of Rome)
He never knuckled down to Hitler or
Mussolini, was arrested and imprisoned
more than three years ago. He asked no
quarter. He resembles Dante, is very
silent and like martyrs does not need
to say very much anyway.

I have just left His Holiness the
Pope after a fourth audience, one

THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO HIS HOLINESS THE POPE

Each week since arriving here.
We discussed again the four major
questions.

- I. Communism -
- II. Religious freedom in Russia.
- III. Surrender of the German Army
Consequent de armament etc. as
recounted in my previous letter.
- IV. International Organization.

I believe these continued discussions
are helpful to the Pope. His interest
seems unabated. I have not let him
~~have~~ grasp our whole program for
Germany or World Organization. But
have led him along our schedule
of considering these matters.

I called upon the Cardinal Secretary of
State Maglione - who is leaving today
for his Villa at Naples. He was too
ill to discuss anything serious - I
again suggested that he consult
American Doctors at Naples.

Where Roosevelt Hospital of New York
has a sizable unit. In the
first time he indicated an interest
I gave him a letter to the Surgeon
General.

The Spanish Ambassador has
just told me that he has a special
message from his government
indicating how greatly pleased they
were with my former visit and
suggesting that a renewed visit
would be most welcome. ^{At this time} I have
had two communications from
Ambassador Hayes suggesting
that he and Mrs Hayes would be
pleased if I came to Madrid
en route to or from Rome.

Other similar suggestions
caused me to telegraph this
^{to you} information ^{to you} last week.

With kind regards please be
Sincerely
Theodore Taylor.

V.B. Please excuse poor ink, pen - and
relationships.

mt.

P.S.F. Vatican
Taylor

THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO HIS HOLINESS THE POPE

July 14, 1944

My dear Mr. President

In our last talk you enquired about the Crown Prince, now Lieutenant General, of Italy and his family.

On Friday last I received an invitation for tea at the house of a friend. The Crown Prince was the only other guest. After a cup of tea we were left alone for an hour. The plan may have sprung from a conversation I had with the Pope a few days before. I had known the Crown Princess and his aunt, the Queen of Montenegro, both of whom had visited our Villa in Florence in past years.

The conversation was quite general but led to a plan for a further talk when Anabel and I are installed in the "Kemp" villa, which is suited to private meetings. The Crown Princess, her son and two daughters are in Switzerland, near Bearue. His sister, the Queen of Bulgaria (Giovanni), widow of King Boris are still in Bulgaria. He has had no news of them for many months. His sister, Countess Colvi di Bergolo, and two children are in confinement in Germany - or in prison in Verona, he does not know where they are. Princess Marie of Bourbon-Parthe is either in France or Germany - he does not know where. The C.P. has greatly improved during the past trying years and responds to his increased responsibilities, is modest, has an orderly comprehension of the position of his country. I am sure you would enjoy a visit with him. He dresses as an ordinary civilian with no display of military character. The King is at one of his estates near Naples.

The C.P. feels that work will be the salvation of his people, many of whom would like to volunteer for military service with the Allies. Recruiting is permitted only in a small way. Many Italians feel humiliated that they are not permitted to fight for their own liberation - especially as "black Africans" are at the front with Indians, Americans, Japanese, Goums, and others. General Clark told me they had not much stamina as fighters.

I spent one day last week with General Clark at Headquarters - visiting three hospitals of which the one that affected me most, quite a large one, where men who

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have collapsed under fire are cared for. The treatment is to put them under complete narcosis for 2 to 3 days. After a week 80% are cured and return to the front. They never know what happened to them and there is seldom a recurrence. Near Portofino, now a large evacuation hospital about 1000 beds, 40 surgeons, and internes all of whom operate in emergencies. This unit has handled 50,000 cases since it came overseas, has been bombed and strafed - only one case has lost both eyes. I visited the Port, taken from the enemy 8 days before. So skilled are our Army Engineers, that on the 8th day, they had improvised shipping and unloading facilities that 7000 tons of munitions and supplies were taken ashore and delivered to the dumps preparatory to the attack on Leghorn (which as I write is in 5th Army hands today). The steel works at Piombino was completely blasted by our bombers and artillery though the Village at one side was hardly damaged. I have seen many skillful engineering operations in the past but Piombino compared with the best - especially as no blue prints of such an operation is possible in advance and all is improvised on the spot. Forward planning however makes available the heavy equipment at the right moment without which nothing substantial could be done.

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I have just left His Holiness the Pope after a fourth audience, one each week since arriving here. We discussed again the four major questions:

- I. Communism.
- II. Religious freedom in Russia.
- III. Surrender of the German Army. Consequent disarmament, i.e., as recounted in my previous letter.
- IV. International organization.

I believe these continued discussions are helpful to the Pope. His interest seems unabated. I have not let him grasp our whole program for Germany or world organization but have led him along our avenues of considering these matters.

I called

-3-

I called upon the Cardinal Secretary of State Maglione - who is leaving today for his villa at Naples. He was too ill to discuss anything serious - I again suggested that he consult American doctors at Naples where Roosevelt Hospital of New York have a sizable unit. For the first time he indicated an interest. I gave him a letter to the Surgeon General.

The Spanish Ambassador has just told me that he has a special message from his Government indicating how greatly pleased they were with my former visit and suggesting that a renewed visit could be most welcome at this time. I have had two communications from Ambassador Hayes suggesting that he and Mrs. Hayes would be pleased if I came to Madrid en route to or from Rome. Other similar suggestions caused me to telegraph this information to you last week.

With kind regards, believe me

Sincerely,

Myron Taylor

N.B. Please excuse poor ink, pen and penmanship.

MT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

August 26, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

A reply to Mr. Taylor's letter of July 14 has been drafted in accordance with your memorandum of August 15, 1944, and is attached hereto for your signature, if you approve, along with Mr. Taylor's letter and a copy thereof.

Enclosures:

1. To Mr. Taylor.
2. From Mr. Taylor,
with extra copy.

CH

Dear Myron:

Thank you for your interesting letter of July 19 giving me a comprehensive report of your various activities and conversations in Rome and in Vatican City. It is good to know that you are on the job. I shall look forward to your further reports.

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Myron C. Taylor,
Personal Representative of the
President at the Vatican,
Vatican City.

(5421)

lmo

m. Taylor folder 8/17/44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 15, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY FOR MY
SIGNATURE.

F.D.R.

Letter from Hon. Myron Taylor, 7/19/44, to the President, in re the Crown Prince, now 1st Lieutenant General, of Italy and his family.

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE 13

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

LL-455

This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (S ~~SECRET~~)

Rome

Dated July 24, 1944

Rec'd 3:01 p.m., 25th.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

59, July 24, Midnight.

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ FOR THE PRESIDENT AND
SECRETARY FROM MYRON TAYLOR.

No. 246.

At your request, and after much effort, we over-
came, as you know, many obstacles in setting up American
Relief for Italy. I am now advised by Judge Marchisio,
president of the organization, of the following facts:

One. That up to July 7th his organization had
collected between six and seven million pounds of good,
usable, clean, new clothing and that the War Department
has ruled that no shipping space is available until 60
and probably 90 days.

Two. That Judge Marchisio, President of American
Relief for Italy, be not permitted to visit Italy.

Three. That all the material for American Relief
for Italy must be consigned to the Army and deposited
in a combined

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By J. Schauble Date FEB 22 1972

-2- #59, July 24, Midnight, from Rome.

in a combined pool of supplies, and that such material is to be allocated for distribution by the Army through such indigenous authorities and agencies as it deemed advisable.

I should like to reply to the Department's telegram No. 332 of July 8 and say:

"With reference to your telegram No. 332, July 8, the list of clothing and other items in my telegram No. 212 of June 26 was furnished me by Colonel Poletti and his staff after several conferences and, as indicated in my telegram No. 221 of June 27, the list of medicines and so forth was provided by Dr. Castellani of the Ospedale Policlinico."

For the purposes of clarification I believe that Judge Marchisio furnished you a copy of his letter to me dated July 7 just received and I draw your particular attention to the section which would seem to indicate that all contributed supplies are to be placed in an Allied pool. It has been intimated to me that these contributions might then be diverted to countries other than the one for which the gifts were intended. I

hope

-3- #59, July 24, Midnight, from Rome.

hope there is no thought of such diversion, but if the rumor of it is current in America I believe it would do a great deal of harm and should be immediately denied.

KIRK

JT
WWC



N. 4988/44

The Secretariat of State of His Holiness respectfully requests His Excellency Mr. Myron Taylor to be so kind as to communicate to His Excellency Mr. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, the enclosed Message from His Holiness Pope Pius XII.

The Secretariat of State avails itself of this opportunity to express to Mr. Taylor sentiments of its highest consideration.

THE VATICAN, August 7, 1944.



To His Excellency
MR. MYRON C. TAYLOR
Personal Representative of the President
of the United States of America
to the Holy See

We are deeply appreciative of your cordial comforting message. We pray that soon in God's providence peace with justice will come to our heart-broken world, that christian civilization will be preserved as the basis and incentive of world-order, and that love of God and neighbor will be the governing principles both of nations and of men. We are asking Mr. Taylor who is always most considerate to tell you of some of Our concerns and problems. With heartfelt prayer We beg God's blessings on Your Excellency and the people of the United States.

PIUS PP. XII

Vatican folder 4-44

8/7/44

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL FOR THE PRESIDENT
from Myron C. Taylor, Rome

file *Myron Taylor*

His Excellency

Franklin Delano Roosevelt,

President of the United States of America

Washington.

file personal

THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO HIS HOLINESS THE POPE

M. Taylor for doc 4-6/4

Rome, August 7, 1944.

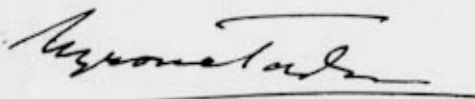
My dear Mr. President:

I am sending you herewith copy of a statement which I received this morning from Prof. Dr. Lobo d'Avila Lima, Portuguese Ambassador at Rome. The document speaks for itself. Obviously it is sent to me because of the facts stated by Signor Dino Grandi in the first few paragraphs of this memorandum.

In due course, perhaps, in acknowledging receipt, you will make any observations which you consider desirable.

With kindest regards, believe me

Sincerely yours,



Enclosure:

Statement dated
July 15, 1944.

His Excellency

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

President of the United States

Washington.

Lisbon, July 15, 1944

Dear Ambassador,

In November 1931, my wife and I had the privilege and the pleasure of being your guests in your lovely home in New York, during the unforgettable visit I paid as Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the President of the United States, and to the Secretary of State in Washington.

I have always cherished the recollection of how kind Mrs. Taylor and yourself were to us on that occasion and of the good friendship that you both showed to us. The invaluable encouragement that I received from you personally helped me greatly in making that visit a success. I returned to Italy not only with the hope, but also with the conviction that, aided as I had been by the frank support and by the general sympathy I had met with in the United States, I could have easily overcome all political difficulties at home, assuring on firm and solid bases that close understanding and far-reaching cooperation between Italy and the United States which had been the cornerstone of my foreign policy from the day I had been appointed Italian Foreign Minister.

I sincerely hope that the fateful events of these last years have not made you completely forget the relations of personal esteem and friendship that our happy meeting in New York had then established between us. This hope encourages me to write to you to-day. I feel that I must let you know a few things about events in Italy both before and after July 25th, and the part I played in them, as inaccurate reports have been circulating on the subject.

As you will perhaps know, on January 10th, I have been condemned to death by Mussolini's expressed will together with the eighteen members of the Italian Grand Council who in the night of July 24th, 1943, brought about Mussolini's fall, and therefore laid the necessary premise for the armistice with the Allies. Five have already been executed. The sentence had been pronounced by an extraordinary court, created by the purpose, acting without any judicial guarantee and in open violation of the law. It has simply been a sinister and premeditated murder, and with it Mussolini has wanted to satisfy his personal vengeance against those who, acting within the frame of our Constitution, were instrumental in freeing Italy from Fascist dictatorship and the German Alliance.

I take the whole responsibility for what happened on the night of July 24-25th. I personally took the initiative of the action for Mussolini's overthrow, and obtained from the members of the Grand Council, through an eleven-hour dramatic debate against Mussolini and his supporters, to approve a motion which I had prepared long time before and which meant a full condemnation of Mussolini's home and foreign policy.

The

ed Italian Minister
pome in New York
aug the Bureau of
in November 1927
Des. Ymparagor.

-2-

The events of July 25th, that brought about the fall of Mussolini and Fascism were no improvisation, nor were they influenced by any popular movement or intervention of the anti-fascist parties which were to appear on the political scene only after July 25th. Our action, long meditated and prepared, was the consequence of an attitude maintained for twenty years in front of Mussolini and his supporters.

As you perhaps remember, I was dismissed in July 1932, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, immediately after a speech I made at Geneva, when, unhesitatingly and alone among all foreign representatives at the Disarmament Conference, I accepted fully and unconditionally for Italy, and on my personal responsibility, the plan proposed by the President of the United States for disarmament and general peace. I thought in fact that that was the last chance offered by the United States to the Nations of the world to join willingly their forces, and put into operations those high principles of international peace and coöperation which would have spared to the world the danger of a war. A few months before (January 1932), I had/in op-succeeded posing a meeting between the Italian Prime Minister and Herr Hitler, head of the new and already strong Nazi movement in Germany.

The swift rise of the Nazi movement in Germany made Mussolini think that the time was ripe for getting rid of me, and with me of the policy he had tolerated but never shared. So my dismissal came at the very moment when I was reaching with M. Herriot (head of the newly-formed radical-socialist Government in France) the full understanding for which I had worked so hard and which was to remove once and for all the age-old difficulties between France and Italy. Mussolini disavowed the action taken by me at Geneva and sent me as Ambassador to London, resuming himself the full control of the Italian foreign policy. The Italian coöperation with the other fellow-members of the League of Nations was practically interrupted at that time, the anti-Geneva attitude reasserted itself once more, and the Italian policy followed more and more the German pattern.

During my seven years in London as Italian Ambassador, whenever official duties compelled me to act according to distasteful instructions, I always did my best follow them in such a way as not to endanger the policy of close collaboration and friendship with Great Britain and full independence of Germany. Very often, however, I had to run counter those instructions. During the Abyssinian war I made every effort in order to avoid a final split between Great Britain and Italy, and afterwards to reach (April 1938) that Gentlemen's Agreement which secured the withdrawal of Italian volunteers from Spain, and should have meant a new start in the Italian foreign policy. It gratifies me to remember that the British Prime Minister gave me credit in the House of Commons for all the work done in order to reach the agreement, and to assure the restauration of the old friendly

relations

relations between Great Britain and Italy.

But suddenly, in May 1939, Mussolini concluded a military alliance with Germany, and a few days afterwards, following bitter attacks against my activities as Ambassador to London and upon German request, I was recalled and appointed, without my previous knowledge, Minister for Justice and President of the Chamber of Deputies, both offices being considered as having no influence on the Government policy.

In the event, those offices proved to be of no little importance, as they gave me the opportunity of renewing once again from the juridical and the legal aspects my efforts in the defense of the Constitution, which Fascist dictatorship had in the meantime violated but not yet altogether obliterated. During my tenure of office (Mussolini got rid of me again in February 1943), I availed myself many times, much to the irritation of the fascist "revolutionaries" and Mussolini himself, of the privilege of the Justice Minister to refuse to validate with the Seal of the State laws and decrees deemed inconsistent with the Constitution. The defence of the latter was in fact an essential premise for slowly preparing the ground for the restoration of our parliamentary system, and for the overthrow of the ill-fated dictatorship which had taken our country's political life in its iron grip and made prisoners of the whole Italian people. From that moment (June 1939), I slowly resumed the direction of the political group which Mussolini and his gang had tried to disperse, during the previous years.

When in August 1939, Germany invaded Poland, my political friends and I did all in our power to prevent Italy's entry into the war on Germany's side, as was Mussolini's intention. At the cabinet meeting which approved Italy's non-belligerency (September 1st, 1939), I demanded a public denunciation of our military alliance with Germany and a declaration of full neutrality. Mussolini refused and asked me not to interfere any longer with the Italian foreign policy. Nevertheless, during the nine months of our non-belligerency, I did all I could to keep Italy out of the war. The British statesmen with whom I was in touch encouraged me in my efforts; but in June 1940, Mussolini declared war without even informing the cabinet, whose members, with the only exception of the Foreign Minister Ciano, learned it from the radio. He intended in that way to administer a final blow to our constitutional machinery. By means of the war Mussolini planned to get rid of Monarchy and Constitution, installing in its place a permanent "de jure" dictatorship on the lines of German Nazism, as he is doing in North Italy, now that he is free at last of his internal opposition.

We were convinced that war meant ruin for our country both in the national and international fields. Not having been successful in preventing it, we believed that no means should be ignored in order to shorten it, and thus free Italy from the German alliance, taking advantage of any favorable opportunity. In the days preceding the 25th of July, there were no signs of any popular or political

rising

rising in Italy. It was a misfortune that the decisive action could take place only much too late for our country to benefit from it without passing through to-day's tremendous experience. We had twice arranged the action which finally took place in July 1943; in May 1941, immediately following the criminal Greek campaign, and again in autumn 1942, at the time of the Allied landing in North Africa. The obstacles we had to overcome compelled us to desist both times. We were Mussolini's prisoners just as the anti-Fascists he confined on the islands.

What we had tried at first was to foster an active movement in Parliament in order to bring about a constitutional crisis which would put the King in the necessity of taking action. But we came to the realization that it was impossible to act through such large bodies as the Chamber and the Senate. The Grand Council was the only possible body, created as it had been by a law introduced by Mussolini with the aim of limiting the influence of Parliament. But the law required that the meeting should be called by the Head of the Government who, conscious as he was of our opposition (Mussolini's and Hitler's speeches after September 8th, 1943, bear the full evidence of this fact) had always refused to let it meet since December 8th, 1939, when the Grand Council asked and endorsed, in its last sitting, a policy of full abstention from war at the side of Germany. When he finally called a meeting for July 24th, he did so only to challenge us, and free himself once and for all of those who were an obstinate obstacle to his policy.

Many stories have circulated about that meeting in the night of July 24th, but they are full of inexactitude and fantasy. I led the attack, and finally succeeded in bringing the Grand Council to approve a motion (See Annex I) which meant the end of dictatorship, and asked the King to avail himself of all powers conferred upon him by the Constitution. My friends and I risked our lives (at the beginning of the meeting our chances of success were scant indeed) in this last attempt.

On the same morning of July 25th, immediately after the meeting, and before knowing what the decision of the King would be, I stressed the urgency of asking an armistice to the Allies, offering myself to go to Madrid or Lisbon in order to approach the British and American authorities. I was convinced that not a single minute should be lost, so that Germany could have no time to take strong military measures. After two weeks I was allowed on my personal responsibility, to approach the British and American Ambassadors in Madrid. The difficulties in obtaining the "visa" from the Spanish Government, and the necessity of eluding the German surveillance (the Germans were after me since July 25th) account for further delay, so that when I arrived in Spain and Portugal (August 18th), official contacts between Allied and Italian military authorities had already been established. There was nothing I could do but to remain here, ready to do what might be required from me in the service of my country, and of the common cause, at long last uniting Italy to the Allies against Germany.

In

In my conscience I feel I have done all in my power to be of some service to my country, to save it from anarchy, and the total disaster connected with a military collapse, and to resume, some day in the future and within the reality of a military defeat, the position of a respectable member of the community of countries which will arise from this war. Someone said that I struck out too late, and someone else that I struck too soon. The fact is that I struck when I could. How great the difficulties were that I had to dispose of has been proved by the course events have subsequently taken. But events have also shown that opposition to Fascist dictatorship from without was powerless. I chose to work from within, keeping alive there an opposition which proved to be at last successful. My policy involved difficulties, risks, setbacks, even mistakes and temporary compromises. But I still believe that that was the only way to a final success.

It was clear that, even had we not acted on July 25th, Mussolini's regime would have been destroyed by the armed forces of the United Nations. Everyone realizes that. But the problem was to shorten a war which the Italian people had not wanted, to weaken Germany's military strength by withdrawing its ally, to bring the Italians themselves to regain their constitutional liberties, and as the Allies had always asked us to do, to oust Mussolini, breaking the chains holding us, so that the cooperation of the great majority of the Italian people might be willingly and confidently assured to the cause of Democracy.

Somebody has said afterwards that in doing what we did on July 25th, we intended to get rid of Mussolini's dictatorship, but to save the Fascist regime. This is utterly untrue. For too many years Fascism had identified itself with Mussolini's dictatorship, and both had to be destroyed in order to save Monarchy and Constitution which we believed and still believe today are the supreme guarantees for our national unity, for establishing a true democracy in Italy, and preserving our country from the danger of going back either to anarchy or to dictatorship again.

I feel sure you will forgive for going into the story of Italian events and the part I played in them. I truly think it difficult to understand Italian events if some light is not thrown on what appears to be only a personal case, but is rather the case of the many Italians whose ideas I tried to interpret and represent. Mussolini wants today, through terror, murders, and falsehood, to create his historical alibi and vainly to strengthen in Northern Italy a position which is obviously doomed. Falsifying facts and documents, he tries to prove that the military defeat that the Fascist dictatorship has met is nothing but the result of military plots which supposedly have found a complacent instrument in the Grand Council. Nothing could be more false. My hope is that some day the entire truth will be told, if in the meantime the Gestapo agents will not have succeeded in suppressing one of the few witnesses of events as they did really happen.

You

You followed my work in the international field and know the difficulties I had to overcome at home to assure the loyal and active contribution of Italy to a policy of peace and international cooperation. I indeed am greatly indebted to American Statesmen, and to their invaluable assistance and personal encouragement if for many years my foreign policy prevailed in Italy. The principles in which I always believed were stressed by me to the American public opinion in speeches I made in Washington, New York and Philadelphia in November 1931. In these principles I put my faith to-day more firmly than ever. In doing what I have done in trying to save Italy from the total disaster where Mussolini was driving it, I was not thinking of building up a new political platform whatsoever. As I said to the King, I meant only to accomplish the last duty of my active political life, and to serve those which had been my ideals through all my life.

I thought I had to let you know all this. I would like to say many more things, many more indeed, which are impossible to express in a few pages. There are people to-day who have obvious interest, as you will find out yourself, in distorting the truth. Personal experience has taught me how difficult it is to re-establish the truth about past events, when war is still raging. This is why I am confident that in writing to you I shall find that understanding which is otherwise not so easy to find when war is stirring so many human passions and when so many political interests are involved.

I send you, dear Ambassador, all my heartfelt wishes for the success of your mission. The cause of the Allies is the cause of Italy, and my hope is to see my unhappy country emerge from her present ruins aligned again at the side of the Allies, fighting against Germany which is our traditional enemy and reconquering her lost liberties.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Dino Grandi

I)

Text of the motion introduced by Dino Grandi and approved by the majority of the Grand Council at the meeting in Rome on July 25th, 1943:

"The Grand Council, having taken in consideration the internal and international situation and the political and military leadership of the war, emphasises the duty for all Italians to stand together in this present grave and fateful hour for the future of the fatherland; decides that all functioning or the constitutional bodies be immediately re-enacted and the Crown, the Government, and Parliament resume the task and responsibility conferred upon them by our Constitution and by our laws; invites the Head of the Government to ask the King, to whom the whole nation turns in faith and confidence, to assume the effective command of the armed forces; and to take consequently, in compliance with article 5 of the Constitution, all supreme initiative of decision that our institutions confer upon him and which has always been, in our national history, the heritage of our Royal House of Savoy."

2)

Extract of the sentence pronounced on January 10th 1944, by the Fascist Extraordinary Tribunal at Verona against Dino Grandi, former President of the Italian Chamber :

"....Condemned to death for the crime of high treason, for having given help to the enemy, endangered the military resistance of the country and of the Italian Army, giving cause to the illusion of a separate peace with the enemy."

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

August 26, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

A reply to Mr. Taylor's letter of August 7 has been drafted in accordance with your memorandum of August 18, 1944, and is attached hereto for your signature, if you approve, along with Mr. Taylor's letter and the enclosure thereto.

Enclosures:

1. To Mr. Taylor.
2. From Mr. Taylor,
with enclosure.

CH

Dear Myron:

I have your letter of August 7, 1944, enclosing a copy of a letter dated July 15, 1944 from Count Grandi to you. Our Legation at Lisbon has received various of Grandi's reports concerning events leading up to the overthrow of Mussolini last year. Colonel Stimson has also received a letter written in a similar vein from Count Grandi. It is interesting to have the story from one of the principal participants of the last meeting of the Fascist Grand Council.

Regarding his personal position, there is, of course, nothing we can do. His relations with his government would appear to be purely an internal Italian affair. He is presumably safe enough in Portugal if he is willing to remain there.

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Myron C. Taylor,
Personal Representative of the
President at the Vatican,
Vatican City.

M. Taylor folder
4-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY

FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F.D.R.

Letter to the President, 8-7-44 from Hon. Myron Taylor, enclosing copy of a statement which he recd. from Prof. Dr. Lobo d'Avila Lima, Portuguese Ambassador at Rome, dated July 15, and sent to the Ambassador by Signor Dino Grandi, who gives an account of what actually happened during the over-throw of Mussolini.

THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO HIS HOLINESS THE POPE
PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

M. Taylor folder 4-44
File
Personal
Rome, August 14, 1944.

Dear Mr. President:

Admiral Standley and Hugh Wilson called on us last week and we discussed a number of matters, and arranged an audience for them with the Holy Father which took place on Saturday. Prior to the audience we talked with them again and indicated the possible field which the Pope would propose for a discussion in order that they might be prepared.

The attached memorandum was written after their audience and you will be pleased to observe, I am sure, that the subjects which we anticipated were brought up by the Pope and that they supported us in the several matters which we have taken up as indicated in our special correspondence.

We similarly arranged an audience for Under Secretary Patterson, General Somervell and General Larkin, with nine members of their staff. We again anticipated the trend of the discussion which might be undertaken in the private audience which took place between the Holy Father and Under Secretary Patterson, General Somervell and General Larkin. The principal topic which the Pope brought up in this audience was his gratitude for the saving of Rome without more serious damage, and the feeding of the population of both Sicily and Italy since the invasion, particularly the relief accorded to the city of Rome itself in that respect. He then talked briefly of the German people and his concern about their ultimate welfare but did not engage in any political discussion, and expressed his gratitude at seeing so many officers and men with the armed forces. We suggested to the Under Secretary that he prepare a brief memorandum on this audience which - when received - will be forwarded to you.

Mr. and Mrs. Tittmann and their two boys, Mrs. Taylor and myself will spend the day at General Clark's headquarters tomorrow. This will be another interesting experience and one which - at a later date and in

a more

His Excellency

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

President of the United States of America

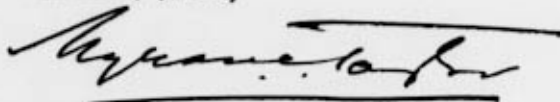
Washington.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By J. Schauble Date FEB 22 1972

a more advanced headquarters I hope sometime to have the pleasure of joining you.

With kindest regards in which we all join, believe me

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Myron C. Taylor", is written over a horizontal line.

Enclosure:

Memorandum of audience
August 11, 1944.

C O P Y

12 August 1944

MEMORANDUM for Mr. Myron Taylor.

Interview with the Holy Father on Saturday, August 12, 1944,
by Admiral Standley and Hugh Wilson.

The Pope had a paper in front of him and greeted us by stating that one was from Russia and one from Germany. He started talking about Germany.

I. His remarks about Germany were of a somewhat superficial nature. He stated that he had respect for the people; for their many admirable qualities; for their development of science; but that they had the fatal capacity of being badly led. Wilson acquiesced in these remarks and merely added that it was lamentable that these people had permitted their leaders to create a situation where they, themselves, inescapably had to pay the penalty. In no way did the Pope raise the question of a negotiated peace, or intimate the possibility of a termination of hostilities.

II. He questioned Admiral Standley concerning Russia and whether there was a possibility of freedom of religion in that country. Admiral Standley stated that Stalin had recreated the Orthodox Church; had incorporated it, however, as a part of government administration. Admiral Standley felt that Stalin has his vanity. He is desirous of being as great a man before the Russian people as Lenin. Now the Russian people are essentially religious in spite of the atheism of the party members. Stalin has so far yielded to the pressure as to recreate the Orthodox Church. Admiral Standley is inclined to believe that the pressure of events will cause Stalin eventually to permit freedom of religion. The Pope returned again and again to the atheism of the party, citing individual instances of this. Wilson then stated that the history of the Church has often shown that non-religious rulers recognized the political necessity of dealing with the Church. For example: Napoleon recognized the necessity and signed concordats which enabled the Church to function well during his regime and under his domain. Admiral Standley then continued the discussion by stating that he felt that the Russians were dominated by the thought of security. If they could attain that security through collaboration with the great powers, Stalin will be content with this. Stalin had every reason to cooperate with the great powers, as he needs to give the people consumers' goods and a long period of rest and recuperation after this battle. There

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

FEB 22 1972

again

By J. Schauble Date _____

again his vanity will play its part. He will desire to stand well with the people, particularly after the formidable ordeal through which they have past.

The interview lasted some forty minutes. At its close, we presented Colonel Rodrigo and Lt. Waughope to His Holiness.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
THE SECRETARY

August 15, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY

Mr. Myron C. Taylor wrote and asked the Secretary personally to see to it that the attached letter was placed in the President's hands. The Secretary said he would appreciate it if you would do this for him.

CWG
C. W. Gray

Myron Taylor folder
4-44

Rome, August 9, 1944.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

My Dear Mr. Secretary:

We have indicated in a personal letter to the President that this statement has been made that 30,000,000 Catholics in the United States were favorable to concluding the war by negotiation to avoid further loss of life and destruction of property.

Subsequently, in my telegrams Nos. 268 and 270 of August 7 we indicated that Archbishop Spellman who was in Rome had made a similar statement in substance to the British Minister to the Holy See, Sir D'Arcy Osborne. The next day an editorial appeared in the official Vatican Organ, the OSSERVATORE ROMANO, posing the question why the war should be continued with consequent loss of life and destruction of property. The article concluded with a statement in substance that it was desired to have peace as soon as possible. We further advised that an inquiry from London had been made here in regard to the time of arrival of Archbishop Spellman in London. In answer to our inquiry the Archbishop advised us that he would arrive in London August 22nd or 23rd.

Last night at a dinner given in honor of Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, which we attended, he indicated that before Archbishop Spellman left America he called upon him (Forrestal) and made substantially the same statement, to which he - Forrestal - replied in disagreement.

We are quoting these several matters so that you may be apprised of incidents which may indicate a movement to bring about a negotiated peace, along lines undisclosed to us directly, and so that you may be governed in the conduct of affairs related to the war with the fullest possible information that is available to us.

In our recent audiences with the Pope we continued to insist that there is no possibility of a negotiated peace and that the only terms that will be offered to the German Army are unconditional surrender.

Will you be good enough to put into the hands of the President personally the copy of this letter which is enclosed for his personal and private information.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Myron Taylor

The Honorable
Cordell Hull
Secretary of State
Washington.

DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. letter, 1-11-72

By J. Schauble Date FEB 22 1972

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE:



TO READ AND RETURN FOR
MY FILES.

F.D.R.

THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO HIS HOLINESS THE POPE

Rome, August 4, 1944.

PSF
Vatican
Taylor

My dear Mr. President:

At my fifth audience with the Pope, on August 3, after presenting a copy of the paragraph of your recent letter intended for His Holiness, discussion was resumed of the trend of war as it related particularly to the possible Russian ambitions in Europe, the ultimate situation of Poland, and of Germany.

I continued to meet these questions in the manner previously indicated and referred generally to the prospects for the ultimate development of Germany shorn of its armament and war potentials. The reaction to these statements was favorable. I believe that no opposition to rendering Germany unable of future aggression will be met from these sources, the principal preoccupation being concern for the future welfare of the German people, and not in any sense the protection of the present leaders or the military class. The fear continues that Russia is animated by excessive territorial and political ambitions, and that view persists quite generally in all conservative circles, whether they be spiritual, civil, Italian, or international groups reflected by the diplomatic representatives with many of whom I have talked.

On Thursday, Major General Joao Mascarenhas, Commander of the Brazilian Expeditionary Forces was received in audience, at our instance, by His Holiness. Lt. Col. Carroll Peeke who accompanied him, requested us to make the arrangements, but we referred him to the Brazilian Ambassador who - after the audience - gave a luncheon at which Mr. and Mrs. Tittmann and I were present. We emphasized the importance of the initial appearance in the European war theater of the South American forces as indicating solidarity of Western hemisphere action. We also encouraged the press to make an important feature of the event.

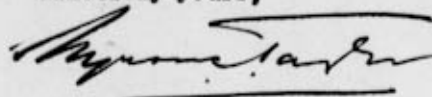
His Excellency

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

President of the United States

Washington.

Sincerely yours,



M. Taylor folder
4-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

TO READ AND RETURN FOR MY
FILES.

F.D.R.

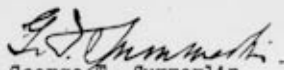
Letter to the President (Personal and Confidential) 8-11-44 from Hon. Myron Taylor enclosing a memorandum re his audience with Pope Pius XII, on August 11, 1944.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF PROTOCOL

August 15, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY:

I am transmitting herewith two sealed communications addressed to the President by the Honorable Myron C. Taylor, Special Representative of the President at the Vatican.


George T. Summerlin
Chief of Protocol

Enclosures:

Two sealed communications.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



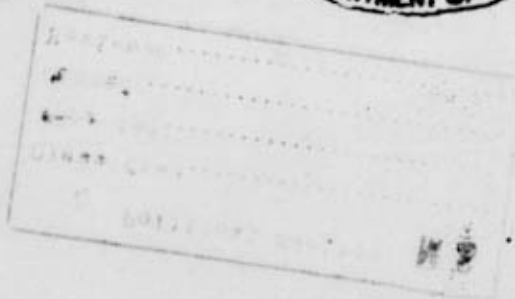
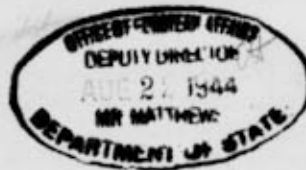
August 18, 1944.

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

TO READ AND RETURN FOR MY
FILES.

F.D.R.



THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO HIS HOLINESS THE POPE

Rome, August 11, 1944.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Mr. President:

I enclose herewith a memorandum which I dictated immediately after leaving my audience with His Holiness this morning at 9.45. I have found a way of sending this to you by special army messenger and it will be delivered to you therefore through army channels.

I think it is important that the information I am sending you be reserved to yourself and to Secretary Hull, because of obligations I have undertaken at the beginning to keep these discussions secret. This is obvious for reasons which you will appreciate.

I hope your trip to the Pacific has not only been successful in enabling you to chart the future action in that area, but has also given you an opportunity for a bit of rest which - in view of the tribulations ahead - I am sure will be very useful in building up a supply of energy with which to meet the problems as they occur.

Among the outstanding visitors we have seen during the past week was Secretary Forrestal who spent a short time in Rome yesterday, having tea with us in the afternoon. We had a good visit. We also attended a small staff dinner in his honor on the night of his arrival here.

Admiral Standley and ex-Ambassador Hugh Wilson also called upon us on Thursday and are returning here Saturday when we have arranged an audience for them with the Pope.

Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick and her husband Charles

Francis

His Excellency
Franklin Delano Roosevelt
President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By J. Schauble Date FEB 22 1972

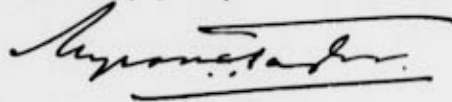
Francis McCormick have arrived in Rome and we are arranging an audience for them at an early day next week.

Honorable William Bullitt spent a few days in Rome busily engaged in interviewing the highest-placed officials. We gained the impression that his chief preoccupation was the Polish-Russian problem.

We expect to spend the day at General Mark Clark's headquarters next Tuesday.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



Enclosure:

Memorandum.

P.S. (August 12) Prime Minister Churchill arrived here today. Under Secretary of War Patterson is expected here tonight.

MEMORANDUM on Mr. Taylor's audience with Pope Pius XII
at the Vatican, August 11, 1944.

The audience occurred at 9.45 this morning. His Holiness first inquired if I had received his memorandum in reply to that portion of the President's recent letter of which I had previously given the Pope a copy as follows:

"please be good enough to convey to His Holiness my warm personal regards and the assurance of my desire to cooperate with Him as fully as possible in all matters of mutual concern and interest. I should like you to take the occasion to express to His Holiness my deeply-felt appreciation of the frequent action which the Holy See has taken on its own initiative in its generous and merciful efforts to render assistance to the victims of racial and religious persecutions".

In reply, I advised His Holiness that I had received his memorandum and that it had been forwarded immediately to the President at the White House, Washington. The Pope's message was as follows:

"We are deeply appreciative of your cordial comforting message. We pray that soon in God's providence peace with justice will come to our heart-broken world, that Christian civilization will be preserved as the

basis

basis and incentive of world order, and that love of God and neighbor will be the governing principles both of nations and of men. We are asking Mr. Taylor who is always most considerate to tell You of some of Our concerns and problems. With heartfelt prayer We beg God's blessings on Your Excellency and the people of the United States".

The Pope expressed his appreciation at the President's message and his regard and esteem for him personally. As it had been published in "THE STARS AND STRIPES" that the President had been in Honolulu, I advised His Holiness to that effect, to which he replied that he hoped Mr. Roosevelt had found an opportunity for rest and recuperation.

We again alluded to the progress of the war, to the difficulties of providing food for the armed forces in so many parts of the world, and in many cases to the civilian population; to the prospect of continued assistance to Italy and the likelihood of similar need for France, The Low Countries, and many other parts of Europe which have been under Nazi occupation. I paid a well deserved tribute to the knowledge and skill in handling these important matters by the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, and indicated how constantly and faithfully he had supported His Holiness's views in all these matters, particularly in respect to the safety of Rome and the feeding of its population after its liberation. His Holiness was very much pleased with the report in respect to the activities of His representative. (While I did not mention it, I am of the opinion that

Archbishop

Archbishop Cicognani would competently fill the post of Cardinal Secretary of State in case Cardinal Maglione, now ill, became incapacitated).

Concern is felt here for the fuel supply in Italy, particularly for the winter. Our reply is that if Germany surrenders before winter, the burden of shipping would be gradually reduced so that supplies might be available. It is well to inform His Holiness on such problems.

Reverting to the situation of Germany and the problem of political, economic and armament questions, and in order to dispel completely the idea that all these questions would be matters for discussion at the time of surrender, I indicated that the most vital of these questions would probably be imposed rather than negotiated. At this juncture it is not desirable, as I view it, to give encouragement to any thought that unconditional surrender might mean an invitation to sit around the table and negotiate upon question which - if we pursue the policy thus far indicated - can only be successfully carried into effect and preserve the peace of the world and make Germany incapable of using force toward her neighbors, if they are arbitrarily imposed at the time of unconditional surrender and during the period of military occupation which must follow it. I believe that in this atmosphere it is not wise to show any sign of compromise, nor is it wise to be too specific in respect to conditions to be imposed. I might say that I think that rule might also hold good

in other

in other areas as well.

I called the attention of His Holiness to an item in THE STARS AND STRIPES of today's date which I quote:

KREMLIN SEEKING VATICAN MEETING

London, August 10. The Russian Government, in an unprecedented political move, has sent a memorandum to the Vatican proposing coordinated action between Moscow and the Vatican in the postwar solution of moral social problems, Reuter declared today.

The report said that Marshal Joseph Stalin had suggested to Pope Pius XII that they exchange views to facilitate action at the peace conference. The Russian Premier is reported to have assured the Pope that Russia has no desire to create a social order anywhere by force and even would oppose such measures.

The Soviet memorandum asserted that Russia hopes to reach its goal only through democratic and legal principles.

The Vatican's attitude, Reuter declared, is not yet known but it was reported that Monsignor Cortesi, Papal Nuncio to the Polish Government, will proceed to Warsaw as soon as the Polish capital is liberated.

This decision, the London Daily News Chronicle said, would indicate that the Vatican had reconciled itself to the fact that Poland, predominantly a Catholic country, will be on close terms of friendship in the postwar world with Russia.

The Pope immediately characterized the article as false and stated that nothing whatever had been proposed by the Russians and that the Vatican would be called upon to declare that the statement was without foundation in fact. We discussed several forms of denial,

and I

and I indicated one or two that might be the least likely to close the door on such an approach by Russia. This led to my inquiry as to the form of a statement by Stalin with respect to "Freedom of Religion" in Russia which I submitted two weeks earlier. That statement was as follows:

"Because of the loyal participation in the defense of the Fatherland by all Russian people under the direction of the constituted authority in the State, the Soviet Government, by interpreting and applying Article 124 of the U. S. S. R. Constitution publicly proclaims complete freedom of religion, including freedom of worship in all Soviet territory.

Any abuse of these privileges, either to organize movements or incite the people toward the overthrow of the Government, will be dealt with in each individual case according to law".

In His Holiness's opinion such a statement by itself would mean very little. I indicated that the Russian Member of the Advisory Council for Italy (M. Bogolomov) had arrived by plane two days ago when we happened to be at the airport, and suggested it might transpire that he would open conversations with the Vatican. I recalled the fact that Russia, at the time of the Czars, had a representative at the Papal Court and that it might not be unlikely, with the Polish question becoming ever more acute, that the Roman Catholic Church in Poland and the Orthodox Church in Russia might be led into a very difficult conflict in the future

unless

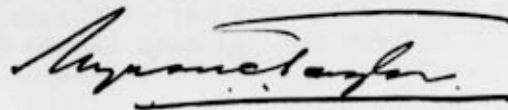
unless the Russian situation vis-à-vis the Church was liberalized and clarified. The Pope replied that he would be glad to welcome such an understanding, but that it must be based upon good faith and that practical evidence of sincerity must be shown; that up to the present there had been in practice no relaxation of the attitude of the Russian Government toward the Catholic Church, particularly in the occupied Baltic countries, in Poland, or in that segment which exists in Russia proper. It is natural to suppose that there may be some who would feel that the relations on a religious level between those countries and the Vatican were not a matter of general political importance, but a careful student of the European political arena must yield to the conclusion that a harmonious religious basis would promote a better political and economic understanding.

In this connection I touched upon the possibility of a "European Commonwealth of Nations", first on a restricted European grouping of the Eastern European States west of Russia and east of Germany, and second on a complete European Union, excluding, of course, Russia and Great Britain. The general allusion to this often debated question called for an exhibition of great interest on the part of His Holiness. While we had in our State Department during the past two and a half years studied both these fields to some extent, I did not see fit to enlarge in any detail upon these projects. I do, however,

however, expect at an early audience to have some reaction from these suggestions.

On leaving the Pope he, with greatest warmth, assured me of the interest and satisfaction in the discussions we have had on a basis of "sincerity and helpfulness" which has developed. The Pope invited me to frequent future audiences.

ROME, August 11, 1944

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Raymond Taylor". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long horizontal line extending from the end of the name.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

September 19, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Thank you for letting me see Myron Taylor's letters of August 4 and 11, the latter containing an account of his audience with the Pope on August 11. I have had copies made for the Department's files and I am returning the originals herewith.

Enclosures:

Letter from Myron Taylor,
August 4, 1944.

Letter from Myron Taylor,
August 11, 1944, enclosing
memorandum of conversation.



CH

My Taylor folder 4-44
file personal

(3398)

Original of this telegram, approved by the President, returned to the
Secretary of State, 8/29/44. *M. Taylor folder* 4-44

DRAFT TELEGRAM

AMDEL,

ROME.

FOR MYRON TAYLOR FROM THE PRESIDENT.

Your 286, August 21.

For your confidential information, I feel that at this particular phase of our discussions with the British on the whole problem of Italian relief, we might jeopardize the success of the program of American Relief for Italy, Inc. by insisting just now that the combined military authorities, despite their current directives from the Combined Chiefs of Staff, authorize Marchisio to visit Italy.

Your recommendations will, however, be kept in mind and acted upon just as soon as possible. I am sure that meanwhile you, as Chairman of American Relief for Italy, will be able to organize matters at that end with your usual skill, tact and efficiency.

(Signed) ROOSEVELT

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

BJR - 759

This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (REDACTED)

Rome

Dated August 21, 1944

Rec'd 9:47 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

216, August 21, 7 p.m.

THIS IS TAYLOR'S 286 FOR THE PRESIDENT

Procedure regarding distribution of material con-
tributed to American relief for Italy cannot be wisely
arranged to meet views of AMG, ACC, Vatican and Italian
Government and a reorganized Italian Red Cross without
prompt presence here of Judge Marchisio who has been
denied permission by General Hildring to visit Italy
though I recommended it before and since leaving
Washington.

I urge it as a protection against possible future
complaints of inefficiency and favoritism. To avoid
this American relief for Italy should have its own
competent representative on the ground to supervise
distribution. Marchisio should bring such representative
with him. Please act at once. Sending full report
by air.

KIRK

CSB

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Order, 1-11-72

By J. Schauble Date FEB 22 1972

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON
August 28, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

As requested in your memorandum of August 24, 1944, there is attached for your approval a draft reply to Mr. Myron Taylor's telegram no. 286 of August 21, 1944, concerning Judge Marchisio's proposed visit to Italy.

Enclosures:

1. Telegram from Mr. Taylor.
2. Draft reply.

C.H.

Department of State

BUREAU
DIVISION

SE

ENCLOSURE
TO

Letter drafted 8-26-44

ADDRESSED TO

The President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 24, 1944

Secret

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Please let me see your
proposed reply.

F. D. R.

Enclosure

State Dept. dispatch, 216, August 21,
from Rome "Taylor's 286 for the
President" from Kirk

*M. Taylor folder
4-44*

August 22, 1944.

Dear Myron:-

It is grand to get your letters. I take it that the many American "visiting firemen" are keeping you more than busy. I begin to realize the old saying "that all roads lead to Rome".

Keep up the good work. My best to you.

As ever yours,

Honorable Myron C. Taylor,
The Personal Representative of the
President of the United States of America
to His Holiness the Pope,
Rome,
Italy.

SECRET

WAR DEPARTMENT

WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 26, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Subject: Civilian Relief Supplies for Italy Furnished by
American Relief for Italy, Incorporated.

In response to your memorandum of August 10, 1944 requesting that reply be prepared to the attached cable from Mr. Myron Taylor dated July 24, 1944, you are advised that on August 3, 1944 the Acting Secretary of State made reply by cable, a paraphrase of which reply is likewise attached. The cable dispatched by the Acting Secretary of State was co-ordinated with the appropriate staff division in the War Department prior to its dispatch and reflects the view of the War Department as well as that of the State Department with respect to the matter raised in Mr. Taylor's cable.

At the present time the War Department is experiencing some difficulty in obtaining an agreement with the British military authorities that supplies provided by American Relief for Italy, Incorporated may be introduced into Italy for free distribution. It is the British view that all supplies in this combined Theater, so long as the military remain responsible for civilian relief therein, should be distributed by the military through ordinary channels, which, in this case, are commercial channels. The War Department is maintaining the view that the supplies made available by American Relief for Italy, Incorporated should be forwarded to the Theater with military assistance and there distributed without cost through channels mutually agreeable to American Relief for Italy, Incorporated and the military. In the event the result desired by the War Department cannot be accomplished through the present negotiations, you will be advised.

acting *John D. ...*
Secretary of War

Incl.

Cable 7-24-44

Cable 8-3-44

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

DECLASSIFIED

DOD DIR. 5200.9 (9/27/58)

Date- 7-21-66

Signature-

Carl L. Spicer

SECRET

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM SENT

FROM: Secretary of State, Washington.
TO: American Delegation, Rome.
DATED: 31.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The following message for Myron Taylor is transmitted.

We refer to message dated July 24, Number 59, from you.

A copy of letter dated July 7 from Judge Marchisio to you has neither been received nor seen by the Department. We are told by the War Relief Control Board of the President that, with reference to the statement made by Judge Marchisio regarding the amount of clothing collected up to the date July 7th, the earliest date at which Judge Marchisio's organization and Judge Marchisio himself would be able, and all, to get together and deliver any appreciable amount of clothing ready for shipment to Italy would be September 1st. In addition, we are told that the ruling of the War Department was that that Department would ship, within 90 days of the date when it was consigned to the War Department, amounts of clothing put at its disposal suitably packed and at certain designated stations and ports. Of course this ruling is subject to agreement to the proposed arrangements by the commander of the theater. The War Department has asked for the views and the approval of the theater commander in this matter.

It is understood that Judge Marchisio is coming soon to Washington to take up the discussions again, but the War Department is still of the opinion that his visit to Italy would not be timely.

With reference to the method in which the clothing is consigned,

DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By J. Schauble Date FEB 22 1972

27.
FALLOWS DEFECTION. ETC.
DECEMBER 21, 1918. WASHINGTON
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR
WASHINGTON, D. C.

the War Department's position is as you set it forth in Point 3 of your message; this, also, is subject to the recommendations and views of the theater commander as to the most suitable manner of handling the clothing which the War Department has requested. The cause of the delay, and the chief difficulty in accomplishing the arrangements is said to be the insistence on free distribution of the clothing.

In the last paragraph of your message you made reference to a statement about all supplies which were contributed being put in an Allied pool and being turned aside to other countries. This statement is not correct; the supplies of clothing will be shipped to the areas or the countries for which they were intended or for which they were contributed. Untrue rumors and statements on this subject have been circulated, for the purpose of making mischief, according to the War Relief Control Board. The correct facts about the distribution of clothing will be published very soon in Italy and elsewhere; arrangements are now being made for this.

With reference to the activities and the status of private relief agencies on a voluntary basis, such agencies as the American Relief for Italy, Incorporated, the State Department, after consulting the President's War Relief Control Board and other agencies that are interested, has taken the position that relief in freed areas during the period of the emergency should be carried out through governmental channels, and that voluntary private relief agencies should complement and supplement action of the government so far as such complementary activities are possible within the limits of the supplies available and other facilities essential to relief operations, such as shipping space, port acceptances, and others. Also, this is the view of the Department with reference to American Relief

for Italy, Incorporated, and the nature and extent of its present plans
for operations in Italy and its plans for the future operations.

It is requested that Murphy be informed of the above.

STETTINIUS
(Acting)

LA:RT

PARAPHRASED BY

DCR:LOW 8/9/44

1057
lms

M Taylor for am 4-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 10, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE SECRETARY OF WAR.
For preparation of a reply.

F.D.R.

Mimeographed telegram to the Secretary of State, received from "Girk", dated "Rome, July 24, 1944, quoting message from Myron Taylor for the President in re setting up American Relief for Italy.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 1, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. JONATHAN DANIELS:

What do you think we should do next about Judge Marchisio? We might take it up with the Secretary of State. I have no objection to telling the Army to send him over for a couple of weeks.

F.D.R.

Memorandum for the President from Hon. Jonathan Daniels, 8/31/44, asking that Judge Juvenal Marchisio, President of American Relief for Italy, Inc., be permitted to go to Italy. Attached is memorandum for the President from Gen. Watson, 8/31/44, with attached memorandum from the Acting Secretary of War, 8/31/44, a copy of which has been retained for our files.

AUG 31 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Subject: Proposed Trip by Judge Juvenal Marchisio.

1. I am advised that you desire that the War Department make arrangements for the travel of Judge Juvenal Marchisio to Italy for the purpose of making a survey of civilian relief problems on behalf of the American Relief for Italy, Inc., of which organization Judge Marchisio is the President. I believe this decision involves certain considerations which should be brought to your attention.
2. The War Department is continually in receipt of requests from individuals and organizations in the United States for permission to visit theaters of operations for the purpose of making observations on the ground. These requests have come from all types of relief, religious and welfare groups. On advice of theater commanders that the conditions in military areas, including Italy, are not sufficiently stabilized to permit the introduction of such persons into the areas, the War Department has uniformly resisted such applications. To relax this position in the case of Judge Marchisio will, in my opinion, make it extremely difficult to maintain our policy. Only recently, on the advice of the Chief of Staff, has permission been denied to the introduction of clerical personnel into Italy whose only purpose was to engage in spiritual ministrations.
3. In spite of the most active efforts it has not yet been possible to obtain British agreement to introduction into Italy for free distribution through non-military channels of relief supplies provided by American Relief for Italy, Inc. The British Army Staff, on advice from London, has maintained that during the military period of responsibility the distribution of relief supplies in Italy should be limited to those provided on a combined basis through military channels. It now appears that a basis for agreement with the British military on this point may be agreed in the near future. I am fearful that to permit Judge Marchisio to go to Italy at this time as a representative of private American charity will jeopardize the success of the Army's efforts to obtain distribution in Italy of the relief supplies provided by Judge Marchisio's organization.
4. In view of the foregoing considerations I respectfully urge you to reconsider your decision to permit Judge Marchisio to go to Italy at this time.

(Signed) ROBERT P. PATTERSON
ACTING Secretary of War.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

file
THE SECRETARY

August 29, 1944

✓
Personal and Confidential

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Attached is a letter of August 3 from Mr. Myron C. Taylor, together with its enclosure. Mr. Taylor asked that they be brought to your personal attention.

DECLASSIFIED

State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By J. Schauble Date FEB 22 1972

CH

COPY:8:ARK

M. Taylor folder 4-44

THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO HIS HOLINESS THE POPE

2 Via Boncompagni

Rome, August 3, 1944.

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Mr. Secretary:

During the last few years I have sent you from time to time the letters that I have received from a distinguished correspondent in London. These letters had to do with settlements during and after the war and the creation of an international organization to preserve the peace of the world.

Some little time before I left home for my present destination I wrote my British correspondent inquiring whether - because of the progress of the war - the views he had expressed in previous letters had been modified or expanded. I have now had forwarded from my office the enclosed private and confidential letter which I think will be of interest to you. The President and yourself have had access to the previous correspondence; no copies of it, however, are on file either at the White House or at the State Department, and it is not desired that the present letter should reach the files or be offered for reading by others than the President and yourself. I have eliminated the name and title of the author.

I assume that the President is absent and that you will bring this letter to his attention upon his return. I am not sending a copy to him personally because of his absence.

With kindest regards, believe me

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure:

Copy of letter dated
June 6, 1944.

MYRON G. TAYLOR

The Honorable
Cordell Hull,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By J. Scheuble Date FEB 22 1972

Personal and Private

6th June 1944.

My dear Myron Taylor,

I received your letter of May 22nd a few days ago, in which you wondered how far the views I had put to you in previous letters had been modified or expanded owing to the events of the war or the lapse of time itself. I have accordingly refreshed my memory with copies of these letters and am interested to find how little I should be inclined to change any of their general conclusions.

As regards the European situation I still believe that the right ultimate solution is some sort of loose Federation or Commonwealth of the main body of European nations west of the Russian frontier. In such a Commonwealth a chastened and regenerated Germany must obviously play her part, and that is why I am all against long term punishment and all in favor of drastic punishments, economic and territorials, to be carried out at the moment of victory. A good deal of that will be looked after by those who have been the victims of German oppression, as well as by internal trouble in Germany itself. But I would not, for instance, wait for any peace treaty before expelling the German population of East Prussia and other districts which are to go to Poland, and beginning to colonize them with the Poles whom Russia is I gather willing to release.

I fully realise that the conception of a European Commonwealth, which Churchill and almost every speaker in the recent House of Commons debate have blessed, may not be very palatable to the Russians, and that there may be an initial stage in which we may be mainly concerned in bringing together the states of Western Europe and letting them form a nucleus of the future European Union. But that should be only a transitory stage and should not be allowed, by the consistent exclusion or depression of Germany, to drive her into Russia's arms. The Russian system expanding to the Rhine might very well become a menace to Western civilization such as Mackinder has envisaged in his book. In any case I still feel as strongly as ever that neither this country, nor Russia nor the United States, could, for varying reasons, become actual members of a European Commonwealth though concerned actively in facilitating and sponsoring it during the early years of its growth. You will find the argument on this developed in a recent lecture by Sir Walter Layton which I think has been freely published on your side, as well as in Coudenhove-Kalergi's latest book, and also in one of the chapters in my little book "The Framework of the Future" which I sent you some time ago.

There

There is, however, one aspect of the matter which may confront us whether we like it or not. Judging from what is happening in the Balkans, I think also in Italy, and probably, when the time comes, in Germany and in her satellites, there is very little immediate vitality or energy in the Democratic Parties as compared with the enthusiasm and ruthless aggressiveness of the Communist Parties, who will certainly not miss the opportunity afforded by the breakdown of Germany in order to seize power at the critical moment. In this they may be helped by the very fact that there is no real essential difference between Fascism, Nazism and Communism in that the kind of young men who have been ardent Nazis or Fascists may many of them easily become ardent Communists. We may therefore have to face the possibility of a preliminary stage of widespread Communism, or something near it, followed no doubt in time by a reaction towards more moderate and democratic policies. Meanwhile both the movement towards the Extreme Left and the subsequent reaction may all help to tone down the extreme Nationalism which has broken up Europe and in that way ease the path towards European reconstruction.

One thing, as I said in my letter of February of last year, that it is really important for you to realise, is that economic policy in these matters cannot be divorced from the political objective. If there is to be any form of European Union it cannot be on the basis of maintaining the Most Favoured Nation Clause, but only on the assumption that the European nations, like those of the British Empire, are entitled to give each other whatever special economic terms they wish in order to promote and encourage their Union, and that that cannot be any ground for complaint by any nation outside. I will go even further in expressing my strong personal views that the present economic outlook of your Government bears very little relation to the economic trend in the world as a whole and looks much more, as seen from this end, like an attempt to restore nineteenth century individualist economics in a world which has inevitably become nationalist, even though the process is to some extent concealed from American eyes by the immense development of the United States behind a nationalist economic policy in the past. It may well be in the interest of the United States themselves, as it was in ours a hundred years ago, to lower their tariffs, possibly even to indulge in Free Trade. But that doesn't mean that there is the least likelihood of other countries following their example, or indeed that it would be for their benefit or for that of the world as a whole that they should do so.

You

You will, I daresay, have studied the valuable monograph entitled "The United States in the World Economy" published by your Department of Commerce. From that it is clear that the great European depression between the two wars was not due, as current legend sometimes asserts, to high tariffs, quotas and exchange restrictions, even if your 1930 Hawley-Smoot tariff may have accentuated it. It was due primarily to the nations, more particularly of Europe, getting back onto the gold standard with the help of lavish American lending and so having the whole basis of their economic life pulled away from under them when Americans, first for the sake of their own boom and secondly because of their own slump, withdrew their support. The Most Favoured Nation Clause prevented them from giving each other mutual preference and so keeping trade and credit circulating within their own borders, and was therefore a main contributory cause of the disaster. The memorandum points out that the only possibility for a world of free multilateral trading and investment depends on the future internal as well as external stability of the American economic system. But who can guarantee that? The memorandum on the other hand also points out that the other countries recovered even quicker than the United States, or Canada which was closely tied up with you, as a result of the various measures which may have impeded world trade but stimulated domestic production.

I think you will find that all the nations practically after this war will want to build up their own economies on the basis of stability of employment and maintenance of their domestic standards. For that purpose they will have to keep their hands free to impose whatever regulations may at any moment be convenient and will be very reluctant to commit themselves to any far-reaching agreement tending in the direction of freer international trade. In our own case we shall have tremendous difficulties, for many years I think, in paying our way in the world, i.e., in being able to export enough to cover our immediate requirements in the shape of raw materials and such food stuffs as we cannot reasonably produce in this country. But that means that we shall have to give vigorous protection to our domestic agriculture and keep out unnecessary luxuries and manufactured goods, and that we can only afford to relax that policy in return for definite concessions in other markets, and not merely on the off-chance of increasing our export trade in the world at large under a regime of low tariffs and Most Favoured Nation Clause.

I would go even further and express my own grave

doubts

doubts whether anything in the nature of the proposed Monetary Fund is either likely to come off or to be of benefit to the world if it did. It is after all based on the assumption that the maximum of international trade is the main object and that parity of exchange is an important contributory factor in international trade and investment. But for countries which base their policy, as most countries will in future, on stability of employment and production and consequently also on the stability of the price level internally, it will be far more important to be free to exercise complete control over exchange and investment than to enjoy the minor convenience of international parity of exchange.

In all these matters we here seem to be in a state of considerable uncertainty. The Government has just issued a White Paper on Employment which is based entirely on the principle that stability of employment depends on the regulation and control of expenditure and investment. But it only applies the principle with regard to domestic expenditure and investment and makes no attempt to follow it up in its application to the control of imports or of foreign investments. I have just come across an article in your New York Times which draws attention to this lack of illogical coherence on our part and enclose a copy of it in case you may not have seen it.

I see Mr. Cordell Hull has been raising the question of a world organization to preserve peace, as indeed has Mr. Churchill. My own profound conviction is that so long as it is clearly understood that the world organization exists for conference and conciliation and, as such, definitely excludes coercion from its purview, it may fulfil a very useful function in creating world opinion in favour of peace and in helping to adjust many minor differences, which, if allowed to develop, might become more serious. On the other hand, if the world organisation professes, again as such, to enforce peace it will inevitably break down and by its very existence paralyse the action of individual nations who might be prepared to preserve peace. The League of Nations played a very useful part during the years between 1925, when we definitely rejected the Geneva protocol, and 1935, when we committed ourselves to the coercion of Italy by sanctions. During those ten years British policy made it quite clear that it did not believe in the use of sanctions and only regarded the League as an instrument of conciliation. If that policy had been followed it might have been quite easy for France and ourselves together quietly to tell Italy that we could not allow her to swallow Abyssinia, and to arrive at some

reasonable

reasonable compromise. As it was, once the thing was referred to the League of Nations, the first step was to hamstring the Abyssinians, by saying that arms should not be sent to either disputant. After that it was quite obvious to Mussolini that the League never meant real business and he got away with it. On the other hand the pinpricking policy of the League so exasperated him that it drove him straight into Hitler's arms, whereas in the spring of that year he had been prepared at Stresa to cooperate with France and ourselves in setting definite limits to Hitler's restless ambition. So I definitely take the view that those who favoured "putting the teeth into the League" were mainly responsible for the present war, and that any similar policy is far more likely to promote a world war than to prevent it.

In all that I have dictated above I have been frankly expressing my personal opinions. They are very far indeed from being the opinions of the British Government as a whole or of Mr. Churchill, or of the main body of British public opinion. All the same I believe the event will prove them right. Anyhow, I have stated them with uncompromising frankness.

You must have been greatly relieved to know that Rome has not only been liberated but liberated intact.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

The Hon. Myron Taylor.

*file
Personal SF M. Taylor folder
Vatican 4-44*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

August 29, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

A reply to Mr. Taylor's letter of July 17 has been drafted in accordance with your memorandum of August 15, 1944, and is attached hereto for your signature, if you approve.

CH

Enclosures:

1. From Mr. Taylor,
July 17, 1944.
2. Draft reply.

Department of State

BUREAU
DIVISION

SE

ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted 8-28-44

ADDRESSED TO

The President

THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO HIS HOLINESS THE POPE

Rome, Italy, July 17, 1944

Mr. T. V. ...
Mr. Mulvaney
4.5.4
[Signature]
REG

My dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to submit herewith an account of my audience with His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, which took place at the Vatican on July 12, 1944.

In my previous audiences (two at which discussions occurred, the third accompanied by Secretary Stimson, which was formal in character and presented no questions for serious discussion) attention was directed to the following questions:

The possibility of the spread of communism in Europe and a very real danger of its development in a strong way in Italy, especially in the period of political and social reconstruction.

The hope was expressed that Allied Armies would not leave Italy for a long time to come. That their presence would have a stabilizing influence upon the people and the politicians. I expressed the opinion that in Italy as in all liberated countries I believed it to be the policy of the American Government to lend its assistance until such times as, in accord with the principles of the

To His Excellency

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

President of the United States of America

Washington.

of the Atlantic Charter, a stable government expressing the will of the people could be constituted.

The subject of Communism raises the question of the Russian attitude toward Poland. I assume the principal preoccupation of the Holy See in the Polish boundary question arises from the fact that within the territory east of the projected Curzon Line a portion of the population is of Roman Catholic religious persuasion. The concern of the Holy See naturally follows to protect its children in the free exercise of their faith, and that assurance by Russia must be given and acted upon to guarantee them therein. The question then arises how could such guarantees be expressed and could they be relied upon?

In viewing the broader question of the Russian attitude re freedom of religion generally - following my discussion with His Holiness in 1941 and 1942, I carried on a lengthy discussion in London with Russian Ambassador Malsky. We reached a point where the Ambassador enquired what form of statement of assurance to be made by Marshal Stalin would be acceptable. I did not feel competent to phrase such a vital statement without consultation. I informed His Holiness that I discussed the subject with the President of the United States, with Secretary Hull and others, including members of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in America. The following statement was evolved:

- I. "Because of the loyal participation in the defense of
the Fatherland by all Russian people under the direction

of constituted authority in the State, the Soviet Government by interpreting and applying Article 124 of the U. S. S. R. constitution publicly proclaims complete freedom of religious teaching and freedom of worship in all Soviet territory.

II. "Any abuse of these privileges, either to organize movements or incite the people to overthrow the Government, will be dealt with in each case according to law".

I did not feel in a position to make use of this statement - anticipating as we did that I would soon be returning to the Vatican and that I would present the suggestion to His Holiness in person for his consideration.

It was hardly a subject for telegraphic correspondence.

Events prevented my return until the present time.

It would seem timely to discuss this subject now, when the British, Russian and Chinese diplomatic representatives are beginning conversations in Washington, on a preliminary draft of a plan for an International Organization to preserve the peace of the world.

I alluded in general terms to this plan in my first and second audiences with His Holiness. It would seem that in the early stages of that discussion the question of religious freedom might well be put forward. Good faith on which such a great under-

taking will need rest and on which its permanency will depend is a primary religious precept.

What, then, can one suggest to Marshal Stalin? One cannot negotiate in a vacuum; a formula is essential. The dangers of inaction are often greater than mistaken methods chosen.

Many of the great questions which confront the world today are interdependent. For example, one of the most essential is disarmament of certain nations to prevent a relapse into war - this can lead to reduction of armaments by all nations, curtailing the crushing burden of armaments upon the backs of the people. Another armament race would breed another war. The present war has drained the economic world to its dregs. All nations have suffered as never before. The burden of war debt will be borne by generations unborn. The need for control of armaments production and reduction seems obvious.

The developed strength of Russia and its greater potential due to unlimited natural resources, a great and growing population, its victorious position in Europe, must be realized, and extension of cooperative arrangements already accomplished must be undertaken in the interest of world peace.

Prompt creation of a world organization, even while the war progresses, will pave the way, future security being guaranteed, to solve many of the problems created by the present war and aid in earlier reconstruction and rehabilitation.

Admitting the German Army cannot win the war, the earlier the army surrenders, not only will lives and property be spared but the earlier can the processes be set up for political stability and economic improvement for the people of Germany and of the world. The world organization has then become the medium for the determination of war problems - its first members, the United and Associated Nations - become an active and potent body for the peaceful settlement of disputes, its judicial arm determining justiciable questions, its security and enforcement arm maintaining order and stability. The moment is opportune - it may never come again in so promising a form. The opportunity promptly to create an international organization, to preserve peace with justice, should not be ignored or neglected. It is the best hope of mankind.

His Holiness followed this discussion with increasing interest and favorable comment. On each occasion I advanced these and other points to bear on the main question of the surrender of Germany, hoping that by indicating in general terms, that plans are already laid to deal with all phases of Axis problems and the practical necessity for a world organization promptly created to deal with such problems at proper moments, as orderly military procedure takes the place of active warfare.

Following my last audience with the Pope, I had a long discussion with Monseigneur Tardini, Political Adviser to the Pope, who has very pronounced ideas on Russia and the spread of Communism. He

objected to item II in the formula recited on page 3 hereof, but approved item I, as did His Holiness. I have promised to give each a copy of the formula and of the accompanying statement attached hereto (marked "A").

I attach hereto a translation of a portion of a speech made by a communist member of the Italian Government, July 10, 1944 (marked "B").

I attach a memorandum regarding Communism which the Pope discussed briefly in our first audience, but which was rewritten by Monseigneur Tardini (marked "C").

A further audience will be accorded me on Wednesday, July 19.

As you will have noted, my principal efforts are directed

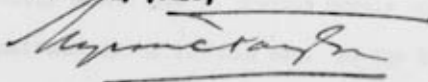
First: to convince the Pope and other Vatican authorities that the German army must surrender unconditionally;

Second: that cooperation with Russia in the interest of victory and permanent world peace is essential;

Third: that an International Organization must be created at as early a date as possible to implement the settlement of war problems and to insure future peace. I have not felt free to use specific details of any such project.

With highest regards, believe me

Sincerely yours,



Enclosures.

Enclosure "A"

"Provided the Russians would make and mean it, what is needed is a constructive suggestion as to what kind of statement concerning religious freedom would be satisfactory.

"Any specific reference to past events would not necessarily have to be included in such a statement. Any attempt to justify past events would not gain acceptance, and a confession can hardly be expected in the circumstances. As for the face saving requirements of the situation, they could be met by the following, and if sincerely made, it might constitute a meaningful declaration:

"Because of the loyal participation in the defense of the Fatherland by all Russian people under the direction of the constituted authority in the State, the Soviet Government by interpreting and applying Article 124 of the U.S.S.R. constitution publicly proclaims complete freedom of religion, including freedom of worship in all Soviet territory.

"Any abuse of these privileges, either to organize movements or incite the people towards the overthrow of the Government, will be dealt with in each individual case according to law".

"Any action taken by the Soviet Government which would justify such a statement would greatly contribute to present morale and future harmony among the nations united in this war. If the Soviet

(Enclosure "A" continued)

Union will not take such action, it would be better not even to imply a commitment regarding the acceptability of an ambiguous statement which, by having on the record just another untrustworthy declaration, would only aggravate the difficulty of postwar discussions".

Enclosure "B"

Excerpt from a speech made in Rome by the Communist
Member of the Italian Government, July 10, 1944 (translation):

"We are aware that in the past there have been psychological and organized obstacles to this unity of action (e.g. between the Communists, Socialists and Catholics). We have now done the necessary to eliminate these obstacles. Above all I have stated, as the spokesman of the Communist Party, and I repeat it here in Rome, the Capital of the Catholic World, this declaration, namely that we are respecting the Catholic faith, the traditional faith of the majority of the Italian people".

(The speaker added that he expected reciprocal comprehension on the part of the Catholics).

C O P Y

Enclosure "C"

1. In the U. S. S. R. the situation as regards the Catholic Church does not show any substantial improvement from what it was before the war.

The anti-religious Soviet legislation always remains in vigour.

Besides, the now very few survivors of the Catholic Clergy who had been arrested in Russian territory since the Soviet Revolution, were not set free nor were they afforded any possibility of exercising their sacred ministry. Only a certain number of Catholic priests, through an agreement with the Polish Government, in the second half of 1942, could leave the U. S. S. R., together with the Polish Army which was then leaving those regions. Also in this case not all the priests, previously imprisoned and deported from Poland, were set free, nor does it appear that they were set free after that date.

It has never been possible to learn of the fate of Archbishop Edward Profittlich, Apostolic Administrator of Esthonia, arrested in Tallin in June 1941 and deported towards the Urals.

2. Neither have certain events which have happened within the last two years, any value in modifying the above stated judgment about the religious situation in Russia.

It is true that, even before the death (December 1940) of the well-known director of the Godless organization - Jaroslawsk (Gubelmann) - the atheistic propaganda had practically been suspended. But this suspension, which did not at all mean the suppression of existing anti-religious literature, is very far from constituting a positive recognition of religious liberty, and it is not difficult to find an explanation for it in the desire to take into account the obvious reasons of political and military opportuneness and the psychological needs of a people in war.

The publication of a book entitled "The Truth about Religion in Russia", is due also to propaganda purposes. This book, very widely diffused abroad in its various translations, and almost impossible to find in the U. S. S. R., is reticent, inexact and sometimes contains falsehoods.

The following information given by the "United Nations News", June 28, is a proof of the kind of propaganda which is being carried on in this sense. According to the weekly review, "Colliers", Russia has at the moment more than four millions of religious who care regularly for about 5,000 Orthodox Churches, 1,800 Roman Catholic Churches, 1,300 Mahomedan Mosques, 1,100 Protestant Churches, and 1000 Synagogues. For what regards the Roman Catholic Church this information is completely false.

Even the world press brought out the propaganda side of the reappearance of the Patriarchate of Mosca (September 1943).

3. The Soviet Communism - even after the suppression of the Comintern (May 1943) - continues to be the propagating center of a most active Communist Propaganda throughout the world. All leads one to believe that this propaganda aims at diffusing those principles and doctrines, which remain today as the foundation of Soviet Communism, since they have never been renounced. These principles are essentially materialistic and the doctrines based on them destroy the personality of the individual to the advantage of the State, proclaim class-war, tend to the dictatorship of the proletariat and antagonize Religion.

This propaganda is carried on especially in countries through which the war has passed or is passing, and avails itself of the very miserable conditions of these peoples. It is well known how it is also being carried on in Italy, which unfortunately presents, because of the actual economical political and social situation, a very favorable

ground.

Such propaganda is indeed very cleverly carried on, nor does it reveal to the inexperienced the erroneous principles from which it springs and on which it bases itself; in fact it rather proclaims even a tolerance and an understanding for the Catholic Religion, respect for the Faith and religious practice and offers collaboration. Thus is renewed the policy of the "Extended Hand", already tried in other countries. However, because of the sad consequences which it has had, one cannot but entertain very serious concern.

4. Even recently there have been authoritative and not unimportant declarations by prominent persons and by representatives of various sections of the press, expressing from time to time, optimistic judgments on the religious situation in Russia and on the character of Soviet Communism at the present time and on its forms of propaganda.

Notwithstanding all this, in view of what has been stated above and after the sad experiences of the past, it is necessary to follow a policy of watchful expectation and reserve.

JULY 13, 1944.

M. Taylor Gordon
8/17 4-47

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 15, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY FOR
MY SIGNATURE.

F.D.R.

Letter from Hon. Myron Taylor, Rome, Italy,
7/17/44, to the President, transmitting
an account of his audience with His Holiness,
Pope Pius XII, which took place at the Vatican
on 7/12/44.

August 29, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

A reply to Mr. Taylor's letter of July 17 has been drafted in accordance with your memorandum of August 15, 1944, and is attached hereto for your signature, if you approve.

Enclosures:

1. From Mr. Taylor,
July 17, 1944.
2. Draft reply.

My dear Myron:

Your letter of July 17 on your interview with His Holiness on July 12, 1944 and subsequent conversation with Monsignor Tardini was most interesting. I trust that you will continue to keep me informed of Vatican thinking on these important problems which are of so much concern to us all.

I have considered at length the question of obtaining some Soviet assurance on the religious question but have reached the reluctant conclusion that at this particular moment it would be unwise to raise the issue openly. Our Russian allies, as well you know, are most sensitive, and for us to press for a commitment from them now might be interpreted as an affront in view of the various statements they have made during the past year concerning freedom of worship in the Soviet Union. For the same reason I fear it would be highly dangerous to inject the question of religious freedom into the Dumbarton Oaks discussions, inasmuch as such discussion could be directed toward only one participant.

This is an issue which perhaps we cannot and should not attempt to force by any frontal assault. Might it not be preferable to exert our influence quietly and constantly and, instead of seeking to obtain a formal commitment to respect freedom of religion, to use our good offices whenever possible in the practical tests of Soviet respect for that principle? The Vatican itself, from your report, is wary of statements and intent upon concrete application.

I am looking forward to your further reports and shall be interested in having your reaction to the foregoing.

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Myron C. Taylor,
Special Representative of the
President at the Vatican,
Vatican City.